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EDUCATION WEEK

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Entrepreneur Whittle Unveils Plans To Create Chain of For-Profit Schools

By Mark Walsh

WASHINGTON—Chris Whittle, the media innovator who launched the controversial "Channel One" television news program for schools, last week announced plans to develop a nationwide chain of for-profit private schools that will be redesigned from the ground up.

Whittle Communications, of which Mr. Whittle is chairman, plans to spend more than $60 million over the next three years on a new division that will conduct research resulting in a "new American school," he said, echoing some of the rhetoric used by President Bush in his recently announced education-reform proposals.

The firm later will seek $2.5 billion to $3 billion in capital to open some 200 private schools in major urban areas across the nation by the fall of 1996 that would incorporate the innovations developed by his research team. By the year 2010, Whittle expects to be serving as many as 2 million pupils at 1,000 school campuses.

"If it works, it is going to change American education," Mr. Whittle asserted in an interview before his announcement here.

The 43-year-old media entrepreneur has faced scorn from many educators for introducing television commercials into high-school classrooms with Channel One, the 12-minute news program that includes two

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Running Into an Environmental Roadblock, Honda Scraps Plan for School in Colorado

By Jonathan Weisman

When executives of the American Honda Corporation caught their first glimpse of the waters of Gold Lake in Boulder County, Colo., eight months ago, they could not believe their good fortune.

The lake makes up one-third of a privately owned, 90-acre site, surrounded by national-forest land and perched on a mountain ridge overlooking a vast, Rocky Mountain panorama. Such a majestic setting, the corporate officials agreed, would be perfect be for the experimental, public boarding school for at-risk students Honda envisioned building in cooperation with local educators.

But late last month, in the wake of fierce opposition from environmentalists and restrictions imposed by the county commission, Honda said it was abandoning its plans for the site and would take its $25-million project elsewhere.

"Everybody that goes to that site just falls in love with it," Jeffrey Winston, a Boulder consultant hired by the newly formed American Honda Education Corporation to develop the property, said last week. "Everybody who has seen it has his

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CHAPTER 1:

A Special Report

John Booz Photography

In 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act broke the previously impregnable barrier against general federal aid to schools.

The heart of that act—called "one of the historic victories of the American nation" by President Johnson—was Title I.

Today, the compensatory-education program, renamed Chapter 1 in 1981, is the centerpiece of the federal effort in education.

Twenty-five years ago, during the 1965-66 school year, about $950 million intended to improve the education of disadvantaged children arrived in the nation's schools. This year, $6.2 billion was appropriated.

In a special pullout report, *Education Week* examines the revolutionary program, which many argue has never quite lived up to its full potential.

NAEP Panel Sets Three Standards For '90 Math Test

Experts Express Doubts About Validity of Levels

By Robert Rothman

WASHINGTON—Asserting that it has resolved the issues that led at least three panels of experts to label the process "flawed," the National Assessment Governing Board has voted to set the first national standards for student achievement.

Acting at its quarterly meeting here this month, the 23-member panel of education, business, and public officials adopted a set of scores on the 1990 National Assessment of Educational Progress test in mathematics that represent "basic," "proficient," and "advanced" levels of performance in the 4th, 8th, and 12th grades.

The board this summer is expected to release a report outlining how students performed against the standards.

The report will, for the first time, show how students should perform on the assessment, according to board members. In the past, they said, NAEP reports have simply described how test-takers performed.

"One thing that is seriously lacking in the national assessment is an external standard," said Francie M. Alexander, associate superintendent of public instruction in the California Department of Education. "If we don't have agreement on what kids should know and be able to do, what does it matter?"

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Ex-Richmond Chief Has Left Long Trail Of Fiscal Questions

By Peter Schmidt and Ann Bradley

Walter L. Marks arrived in Kansas City, Mo., to take the job as superintendent of public schools with a résumé that contained both educational high marks and fiscal question marks.

While his innovative magnet-schools program in Richmond, Calif., has won him praise from many, Mr. Marks's financial management of the district, which he ran until last December, has also been called into question.

Mr. Marks's career, particularly his experience in Richmond, illustrates the difficulty school boards have in overseeing the administration of ambitious educational reforms.

The Richmond magnet-schools program was "all just based on hope," said Thomas A. Shannon, executive director of the National School Boards Association. "School-board members were desirous of improving the instructional program, and here was a school administrator who could show them

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Photopress

Paula Martin of the East Harlem College and Career Counseling Program, left, and Kristine MacDermott of the University of Akron at a hearing of the House Postsecondary Education Subcommittee last week.

Ideas for Revising Student Aid Focus on Need For Information, Help Years Before College

By Mark Pitsch

WASHINGTON—Soliciting advice and gathering evidence to help them overhaul the student financial-aid system, federal lawmakers say they are getting one message loud and clear: The earlier the better.

For the past several months, members of the Congressional committees that oversee the aid system have been holding hearings in the early stages of the process of reauthorizing the Higher Education Act of 1965.

One of their primary goals, several members have said, is to make the $11-billion financial-aid system more responsive and responsible to students.

And one way to do that, members of the education and business communities who have testified before the panels say, is through "early intervention" programs.

It is not enough to make it easier for the college bound to obtain more aid, lawmakers have been told.

Students, as young as those in the 6th grade and especially the disadvantaged, need to know that college—and the money to pay for it—is accessible, advocates say.

"Every time someone is talking about higher education, they end up talking about junior high," said an aide to Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum, the Republican from Kansas who is the ranking minority member of the Senate Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee.

Added Tim Christensen of the National

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Also in the news

4 Systemic Science Reform
The National Science Foundation awards $75 million to 10 states to reform their science programs.

5 Boston Superintendent
The school committee appoints a Dallas administrator to the job, but she does not immediately accept.

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Gov. Bruce Sundlun proposes a plan to reduce the number of school districts in the state from 37 to no more than 6.

IN SUMMARY

Moving On in Massachusetts
Diana Lam, the first superintendent of the Chelsea, Mass., schools under Boston University's management of the troubled district, has resigned to run for mayor of Boston. **Page 5.**

Foreign Achievement Tests
A report from the National Endowment for the Humanities says that the national achievement tests used in other nations hold lessons for American test-makers. **Page 8.**

Year-Round Schedule
The Albuquerque, N.M., school board took a major step last week toward placing the entire 87,000-student district on a year-round calendar in three years. **Page 8.**

Redesigning Health Care
Expanding access to health care and improving services for children are the twin focuses of an unusual special issue of the American Medical Association's research journal. **Page 9.**

Fear of Consolidation
An effort in largely rural Nebraska to limit the number of full-time administrators in small school systems has created fear among educators that it will force wide-scale consolidation. **Page 16.**

Funding Child Programs
Senator Christopher J. Dodd last week introduced legislation to establish a trust fund in the federal budget for programs targeted at children, youths, and families. **Page 20.**

Cavazos Travel Inquiry
The Education and Justice departments and the Federal Bureau of Investigation are examining whether the travel practices of the former Education Secretary violated federal regulations. **Page 20.**

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ACROSS THE NATION

NATIONAL

Democratic Group Backs Parental Choice in School-Reform Plan

The Democratic Leadership Council has endorsed a 10-point plan calling for a "sweeping reorganization" of the nation's public schools that includes a call for states to develop parental-choice programs.

The group of politically moderate Democrats endorsed plans for public-school choice that include "protection against discrimination based on race, religion, and poverty."

Meeting at a three-day conference in Cleveland this month, the group also supported giving teachers and principals more decisionmaking authority, rewarding schools for producing better students, and providing a college education for needy youngsters who volunteer for national service.

The resolution, "Making Public Education Work," also calls on Democrats to support:

- The national education goals set by President Bush and the nation's governors.
- A national achievement examination system and an annual report card at national and state levels to measure schools' progress toward meeting standards.
- Full funding of Head Start.
- State efforts to allow entities other than school districts to operate public schools. The Bush Administration recently made a similar proposal.
- Alternative-certification programs for teachers.
- A "national system of apprenticeships" developed jointly by schools, businesses, and labor unions for students not going on to college.
- A new "civilian G.I. bill" that would guarantee a college education in return for voluntary national service.

The resolution was endorsed by the group of more than 1,000 local, state, and federal elected officials.

STATES

N.J. Constitution Protects Student Speech, State Superior Judge Rules

A New Jersey superior-court judge has ruled that local school officials violated a junior-high-school student's right to free speech under the state constitution when they refused to publish his reviews of R-rated movies in a school-sponsored newspaper.

In a 2½-hour oral opinion given May 7, the judge said that school officials practiced "unduly oppressive" censorship by pulling the reviews before publication, said William H. Buckman, the lawyer who represented the student on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The judge ruled that the New Jersey Constitution—not the U.S. Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court—guaranteed the student's right to free speech.

In 1989, officials at Clearview Regional Junior High School in Mullica Hill pulled Brien Desilets' reviews of the movies "Mississippi Burning" and "Rain Man." School officials considered R-rated films inappropriate for junior-high students, Mr. Buckman said.

"I think [the ruling] is important nationally," Mr. Buckman said, "because it tells other students and student advocates that the cramped vision of the federal Constitution presently subscribed to by the U.S. Supreme Court is not necessarily the end of the game."

The Clearview Regional School District board is slated to meet this week to decide whether to appeal the decision, said its superintendent, Michael Toscano.

DISTRICTS

Two L.A. School Police Officers Fired in Wake of King Beating

Two Los Angeles school-district police officers who witnessed the nationally publicized beating of the motorist Rodney King in March were fired earlier this month, a police-union official said last week.

An internal school-district investigation concluded that the officers, Mark Diamond and Paul James Beauregard, did not follow procedure and report the beating to district officials, said Richard Keith, general manager of the Los Angeles Unified School District Police Officers Association.

But the union disputes the existence of such procedures and called the firings "excessive punishment."

Mr. Diamond, a 17-year veteran of the school force, and Mr. Beauregard, a 5-year veteran, will file an internal appeal, and, if necessary, take their grievance to superior court, Mr. Keith said.

The officers have not been implicated in any criminal wrongdoing connected with the beating, Mr. Keith added.

School-district officials did not return phone calls seeking comment.

Mr. Keith said the officers were on routine patrol when California Highway Patrol officers asked them to join the pursuit of Mr. King's car, which culminated in the beating witnessed by more than 20 officers from several police agencies.

A civilian witness's videotape of the beating was broadcast nationally.

■ **The Charleston County, S.C., school district has sued the state for allegedly failing to provide enough insurance money to repair schools damaged two years ago by Hurricane Hugo.**

School officials said that the hurricane, which occurred in September 1989, caused $28.5 million in damage to the district's 70 schools. But the South Carolina Insurance Reserve Fund, which is managed by the state's budget and control board, has paid the district $13.2 million for repairs.

The suit, filed in a state court last month against the budget board, seeks fees for the architects and engineers hired to help repair the schools, as well as money for damaged data-processing equipment, the removal of asbestos-containing tile, and lawyer's fees.

■ **A federal appeals court has ruled that a Catholic school in Pittsburgh did not violate federal civil-rights law when it failed to renew the contract of a divorced Protestant teacher when she remarried in violation of Catholic teaching.**

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit held last month that Title VII of the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not apply when a parochial school decides to "discharge a Catholic or a non-Catholic teacher who has publicly engaged in conduct regarded by the school as inconsistent with its religious principles."

Furthermore, the court said, applying that title's prohibition against religious discrimination to the school's decision "would raise serious constitutional questions under both the free-exercise and the establishment clauses" of the First Amendment.

The case involved a dispute between Susan Long Little, who had taught for nine years at St. Mary Magdalene School in Pittsburgh and Bishop Donald P. Wuerl of Pittsburgh.

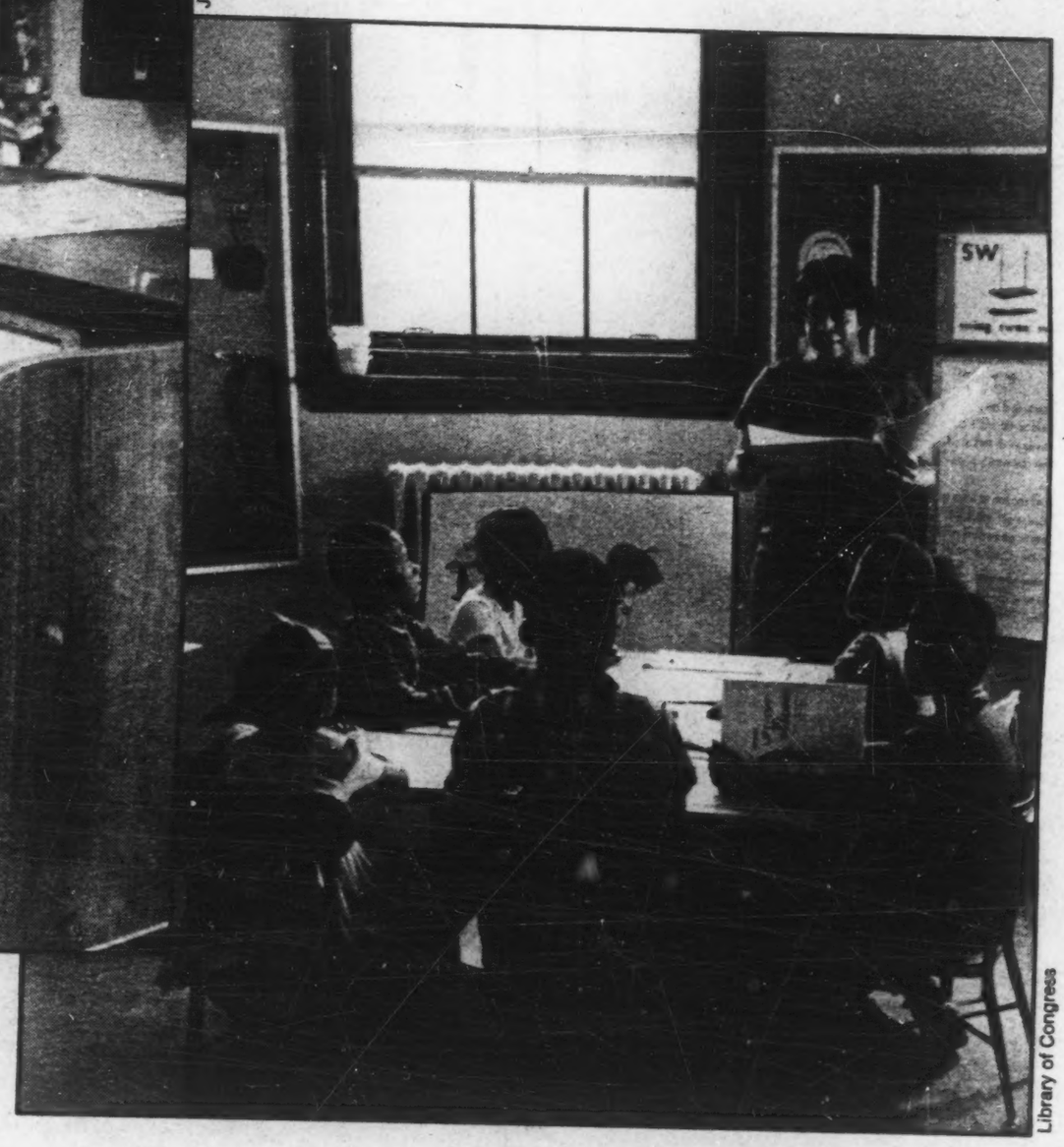
Ms. Little, who did not teach religion and, according to the court record, "performed well as a teacher," married her second husband, a nonpracticing Catholic, in a civil ceremony. Church officials said she was not

Thumbs Up!

Ron Tarver/Philadelphia Inquirer

The basketball great Wilt Chamberlain responds to an ovation at Overbrook High, his alma mater, in Philadelphia. He was inducted into the school's Hall of Fame this spring.

John Booz Photography



Library of Congress

Schools across the nation, like the one in Washington on the right, first began receiving federal help in educating disadvantaged students during the 1965-66 school year. Twenty-five years later, Raynell Robinson, above, benefits from that continued assistance during a Chapter 1 class at Resurrection Catholic School in Chicago.

CHAPTER 1:

An Educational Revolution

At 25, Compensatory-Education Program Strives To Reach Its Full Potential

By Julie A. Miller

Twenty-five years ago, during the 1965-66 school year, something unprecedented and revolutionary arrived in the nation's schools: millions of federal dollars intended to improve the education of disadvantaged children.

With the enactment of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the federal government became, for the first time, widely and directly involved in precollegiate education.

The 1991 model is more tightly regulated and complex than the loosely conceived program President Lyndon B. Johnson shepherded through the Congress as part of his War on Poverty.

But the basic structure of the compensatory-education program remains remarkably similar to the program launched 25 years ago. The centerpiece of the federal effort in education, the program receives more funds—$6.2 billion this fiscal year—than any other education program except for student loans.

Renamed Chapter 1 in 1981, the initiative has become a favorite with politicians of every stripe and a darling of the education community.

In fact, support for Chapter 1 has become virtually reflexive—as evidenced by glowing remarks made at 25th-anniversary ceremonies by Republican politicians who originally opposed the idea.

"Republicans used to like to attack these programs as Kennedy-Johnson programs," said Representative William D. Ford, the Michigan Democrat who chairs the House Education and Labor Committee. "I don't think anyone seriously questions it now."

Marshall Smith, dean of the school of education at Stanford University and an Education Department official in the Carter Administration, said Chapter 1 "has served as a genuine symbol of the federal commitment to education, and, in that regard, is terribly important."

"To attack it," he added, "would be to attack that symbol."

There is little doubt that the program has made a significant mark on the educational landscape.

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Research

After more than two decades of study, results on the impact of the Chapter 1 compensatory-education program are mixed.

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Program Improvement

"Program improvement" provisions in the Chapter 1 law are forcing educators to rethink the way they serve disadvantaged children.

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Rebecca Cook

Early Education

Chapter 1 has played a significant role in supporting early-childhood education; many believe it has the potential to play a much larger one.

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Private Schools

Educators continue to grapple with the logistical challenge of providing remedial services to students in religious schools.

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John Booz Photography

Special Education

The future of the Chapter 1 handicapped-education program is again a topic of discussion on Capitol Hill.

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CHAPTER 1:

An Overview

Educators Rethinking Programs, Use of Funds

Continued from Page 1

It has, for instance, provided an important source of funding to local schools; helped establish stronger roles for federal and state governments in education; helped advance the cause of equal educational opportunity; promoted greater parent involvement in the schools; and, in some cases, become a base for the political empowerment of poor people.

But many argue that Chapter 1 has never quite lived up to its potential, noting that:

- Because of increased numbers of poor children and limited federal funding, only half of all eligible children are benefiting from Chapter 1 services in the current school year.
- Educators and policymakers often find themselves caught between the need to ensure the appropriate use of Chapter 1 monies and the ability to design innovative and flexible local programs. According to educators and advocates, intricate federal regulations and an emphasis on standardized testing too often have resulted in ill-conceived curricula and poorly designed instruction.

In addition, federal restrictions often mean that children almost as needy as Chapter 1 students cannot use equipment or participate in enrichment programs paid for with federal funds.

- Research on the effectiveness of Chapter 1 remains inconclusive, with many questioning whether the disadvantaged children it serves are being educated in the best way possible.

In response to such concerns and to research about what works best to educate disadvantaged children, educators increasingly are trying to remodel their Chapter 1 programs and to rethink their use of Chapter 1 resources.

There is evidence, for instance, that school officials are making greater efforts to coordinate Chapter 1 with the regular school program and to include non-Chapter 1 teachers in Chapter 1 training programs. Chapter 1 teachers also are using more flexible ability-grouping arrangements and focusing more on students' "higher order" skills in an effort to improve student learning and minimize "labeling."

The goal, educators and policymakers agree, is to worry as much about student learning as they now do about being in compliance with federal regulations. The question, they argue, is whether fundamental changes are needed in Chapter 1 to ensure that it lives up to its potential.

"In the early years, it was simply a question of whether the money was going to the right kids and going to meet their educational needs," Phyllis P. McClure, director of education programs for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, said. "Nowadays, that standard is totally inappropriate. Now, we must look at whether it is helping poor children close the achievement gap."

The Federal Commitment: A Legislative Revolution

Until the late 1950's, the federal government's role in education was limited. Some New Deal programs provided indirect, temporary aid to schools; "impact aid" was created to ease the burdens placed on communities by the presence of federal installations; modest funding was available for Indian children; and efforts to aid farmers resulted in funding for school lunches.

In 1958, the National Defense Education Act responded to national-security fears—spurred by the Soviet Union's launch of Sputnik—by providing scholarships and loans to encourage the study of science, mathematics, and foreign languages, and also by funding some school construction.

The Johnson era began in 1963, with passage of a college-construction bill, expansion of the N.D.E.A., and a vocational-education law that expanded the federal focus beyond training in specific occupations. In 1964, adult-literacy programs and the college work-study programs were enacted.

But the revolutionary year was 1965, when the Elementary and Secondary Education Act broke the previously impregnable barrier against general federal aid to schools. The heart of that act was Title I. The same year, a higher-education bill created guaranteed student loans and the Teacher Corps, and Head Start was included in an anti-poverty measure.

President Johnson termed the E.S.E.A. "one of the historic victories of the American nation" and "the most important measure that I shall ever sign."

Several factors combined to ensure the success of this legislative revolution.

Most importantly, passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 barred any appropriation of federal support to segregated schools. Until then, the issue of whether federal aid could go to segregated schools had divided proponents of education aid. Several times, Northern liberals and Republican opponents of school aid had combined to pass amendments barring any aid to segregated schools; Southern Democrats then joined Republicans in voting against the bills.

President Johnson also had the support of a substantial Democratic majority in the Congress. And drawing on his now-legendary political skill, Mr. Johnson had his aides work out differences with the various interest groups before introducing his legislation.

Finally, the bill focused on providing aid to the disadvantaged, rather than on appropriating strictly general aid, and it proposed aid for children, rather than for schools. By focusing on the child, the Johnson Administration was able to surmount the roadblock of religion by negotiating a compromise that allowed participation of private-school students in Title I programs—winning the support of the powerful Roman Catholic lobby without losing the support of traditional proponents.

Debate Over Formula

Once it became clear that the legislation was on its way to enactment, the chief debate in the Congress was over the funding formula—an argument that would be repeated time and time again over the following two decades.

President Johnson proposed allocating funds among states by multiplying the number of children in a state who met family-poverty criteria by a figure equal to half the state's average per-pupil expenditure. A sizable minority of lawmakers argued that such an approach would discriminate against poorer states, including many of the Southern states most in need of the new funds.

Proposals were pushed in both the House and the Senate to replace the formula with a straight grant of $200 per eligible child, but those efforts were unsuccessful. Proponents of the formula argued that education was more expensive in the urban areas of the North that would benefit from the formula—and that a change could derail the bill.

Since then, this basic argument has recurred many times. But today's formula is remarkably similar to the original. Language has been added that places minimum and maximum limits on both the value of the multiplier and the total amounts states can receive, somewhat blunting its effect. And "concentration grants" for areas with particularly intense concentrations of poor children have been added.

The result is that the states receiving the most Chapter 1 funds per pupil are a mix of poor Southern states with high percentages of eligible children and more affluent Northeastern states with lesser percentages of poor children coupled with high per-pupil expenditures on education.

Targeting Versus Flexibility

In all the Congressional debate over the new program, however, one critical threshold issue remained unresolved: Was Title I truly an anti-poverty program, meant exclusively to aid poor children, or was it merely a device that made it practically and politically possible for the federal government to provide general aid to schools?

Advocates in the Congress "had tried for decades to achieve federal aid to education," said John F. Jennings, who has served on the Democratic staff of the House Education and Labor Committee since 1967. "When President Johnson picked up the theme of poverty, they used that as a way to achieve an objective they had for decades."

"That's not to say that the people who wanted to achieve federal aid to education didn't believe there should be a focus on the disadvantaged," he added. "But they were most interested in getting the principle of federal aid established."

There were differences of opinion in the Congress on the question of general aid versus poverty aid, and legislative reports that accompanied the laws in both the House and the Senate contained language encouraging states and school districts to construe the program's mandate broadly.

Most state and local officials were happy to oblige.

"State commissioners and superintendents were in favor of general aid, and would do anything in their power to loosen the guidelines of Title I to use it in that way," said John F. Hughes, who directed the program from 1965 to 1969.

"The education lobby did its part," he added, contending that broad and grand descriptions of what could be done with Title I money—such as a National Education Association brochure depicting the construction of schools—influenced educators to think of it as general aid.

What followed was a period during which Title I funds were spent in every imaginable fashion. In some cases, the money was spent on projects and services that the Congress surely never contemplated—including carpeting for administrative offices, coaches' salaries, sewage-disposal systems, swimming pools, and at least one airplane.

"People went on a spree of buying things they otherwise couldn't have had," said Cliff Eberhardt, a school principal during the early years of Title I who now works on the program for the state of Oregon. "There was a lot of capital outlay. There were some wild things going on in those early days."

Even when districts spent the funds on programs for disadvantaged children, many used the money to duck their own responsibilities to those children.

"In the beginning, superintendents and school boards saw it [Title I] as a dumping ground for ineffective teachers or for patronage hires," said Milton Mathews, who has worked with the program since 1968 and is currently Mississippi's state coordinator.

UPI/Bettmann

Library of Congress

Far left, President Johnson signs the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 at a Johnson City, Tex., school. With the law's enactment, the federal government became, for the first time, directly involved in precollegiate education.

Chapter 1 Participants: Public, Nonpublic, and Total, 1979-80 to 1987-88

Year	Public	Percent Change Year-to-Year	Nonpublic	Percent Change Year-to-Year	Total	Percent Change Year-to-Year
1979-80	4,973,708		189,114		5,162,822	
1980-81	4,862,308	-2	213,499	13	5,075,807	-2
1981-82	4,434,447	-9	184,084	-14	4,618,531	-9
1982-83	4,270,424	-4	177,210	-4	4,447,634	-4
1983-84	4,381,975	3	190,660	8	4,572,635	3
1984-85	4,528,177	3	184,532	-3	4,712,709	3
1985-86	4,611,948	2	127,922	-31	4,739,870	1
1986-87	4,594,761	*	137,900	8	4,732,661	*
1987-88	4,808,030	5	142,492	3	4,950,522	5

* Less than 1 percent

Source: "A Summary of State Chapter 1 Participation and Achievement Information for 1987-88," U.S. Department of Education, 1990

Many Southern school districts used Title I funds to upgrade the general operation of segregated black schools, providing no additional services other than making the schools look better and freeing other funds for white schools.

"They were using federal money to implement *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, to get black kids to stay in black schools," said Ms. McClure of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, referring to the 19th-century U.S. Supreme Court decision establishing the concept of "separate but equal" facilities for the races.

Reports of Abuses

In the late 1960's, reports of abuses began surfacing, eventually contributing to dramatic changes in Title I. The single effort that had the most impact was a 1969 report called "Title I of E.S.E.A.: Is it Helping Poor Children?" It was written by Ms. McClure and Ruby Martin, a former federal official who was director of the Washington Research Project of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy—an organization that eventually evolved into today's Children's Defense Fund.

Some of their information came from informants; some came from audit documents supplied by an official in the U.S. Office of Education. It added up to a damning portrait of school districts spending money on frivolous purchases or ineligible schools, "poorly planned and executed" programs, inadequate state oversight, "reluctant and timid" federal management, and exclusion of poor people from program planning. The investigators found many instances where parents of eligible children knew nothing about Title I and where school officials refused to give them any information.

At first, Ms. McClure said, both the education establishment and the Congress reacted defensively. Representative Carl D. Perkins, the late Kentucky Democrat who presided over the Education and Labor Committee for 16 years, "surveyed Title I directors to try to invalidate our report," she said.

"The general feeling among the people who were in favor of federal aid to education was that there were bound to be some mistakes, but it had been impossible to enact federal aid to education for a century, and we had to defend it," Mr. Jennings said, noting that the White House was then occupied by Richard M. Nixon, who sought to "dismantle the Great Society."

But other pressures on the Congress also pointed toward a tightening of the Title I rules, and the basic program principles that survive today took shape in the 1970's—permanently settling the question of the program's intent.

One factor was a lack of funds. Proponents had envisioned a vast program that would improve wholesale the level of education in school districts with many poor children, but, as federal resources became scarcer, it seemed logical to concentrate the available funds on the neediest children.

Another factor was political opposition, particularly from the Nixon Administration. Opponents argued that the program was not producing measurable results, leading supporters not only to target funds more narrowly to the children most likely to benefit and show gains, but also to enact monitoring and testing requirements.

"The program evolved the way it did because of historical forces," Mr. Jennings said. "I know Carl Perkins's conception of Title I in 1966 is not what evolved in the 1970's."

In 1970, lawmakers required that Title I funds not be used to supplant, or replace, state and local funding, and that Title I schools receive state and local support "comparable" to that received by other schools. They also mandated public disclosure of documents related to the program.

In 1974, parent advisory councils were required at the school and district levels, and they were strengthened in 1978.

In 1978, the Congress also enacted rules specifying how districts must rank schools for inclusion in Title I, gave state agencies specific authority to review local programs, and authorized the federal Commissioner of Education to withhold funds from districts that violated the rules.

The Regulatory Pendulum

The pendulum swung back the other way in 1981, after Ronald Reagan swept into the White House with an agenda that included abolishing the fledgling Education Department, consolidating education programs into a block grant, and reducing their funding and the specificity of their regulations.

The Administration won a partial victory when the Congress enacted a smaller-scale plan drafted by House Republicans, which consolidated a number of small programs into what is now the Chapter 2 block grant. *(See Education Week, May 15, 1991.)*

Although Title I remained a separate program, it was renamed Chapter 1 of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act, a name change that suggested its more streamlined profile. The 1981 law contained much less specific rules on comparability of funding and selection of schools, reduced paperwork requirements, and relaxed state monitoring requirements; it also essentially eliminated the parent-involvement rules.

"What we tried to do is to take out things that were not making for a more effective program but were making for a very complicated administrative situation," said Charles W. Radcliffe, who served as Republican counsel to the House Education and Labor Committee for almost 20 years before retiring in 1982.

David Stockman, then President Reagan's budget director, "really went to bat to take out all the requirements dealing with accountability," Mr. Radcliffe said. "What we did was keep those, but modify them in a way that school administrators felt would not impose unreasonable hardship on school districts."

"What I really want to stress," added Mr. Radcliffe, who is generally credited as the E.C.I.A.'s primary author, "is that what we did in 1981 saved Title I. If we hadn't made the effort we did, the Administration's bill would have passed."

Observers say it is difficult to judge the total impact of the deregulation, but advocates offer anecdotal evidence of lax state and federal monitoring during the 1980's. Also, they say, a majority of school districts abandoned formal parent-involvement structures and generally spread the funds among more schools.

"What happened? I don't think anybody really knows," Ms. McClure said.

The Congress has since restored some of the regulation eliminated by the E.C.I.A., reinstituting some parental-involvement requirements and giving state agencies unprecedented authority to intervene in local programs. *(See related story, page 11.)*

But some of the most-hated regulations did not return. For example, parent councils are not mandatory, and while districts must keep records showing that their spending on Chapter 1 schools is "comparable" to that for other schools, they do not have to file detailed reports.

"We tried to learn our lesson," Mr. Jennings said.

As a result of increased regulation, backed up by federal auditors, outright abuses of Chapter 1 funds are now rare, Chapter 1 officials and advocates say.

Testifying before a Congressional panel last year, Ms. Martin said, "Not in my wildest dreams could I have imagined 21 years ago that one day I would be appearing before this subcommittee as a state of Virginia public official, accompanied by the director of Virginia's Title I, extolling the virtues of a program that I once called a hoax and another cruel joke on black children—a program that I was almost convinced could not be fixed."

How It Works, Who Is Served

While the legislative trend has generally been toward tighter regulation, the Congress and the Education Department have

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